

Table 1: The effect of socio-structural factors and ideology at high levels of unemployment. Summary of the empirical findings.

	<i>Demonstration attendance</i>		<i>Low-cost protesting</i>	
	<i>Trend</i>	<i>Protest Gap</i>	<i>Trend</i>	<i>Protest Gap</i>
<i>Ideology</i>	+	↑	+	↓
<i>Gender</i>	+	=	+	↓
<i>Age</i>	+	↑	+	=
<i>Income</i>	+	↑	+	↓
<i>Education</i>	+/-	↑	+	=

Notes: Table summarizes the effect of socio-structural factors when the level of unemployment is high. The positive (negative) sign indicates that groups are more (less) likely to protest when the economy reports bad figures.

Arrows and equal sign show whether the protest gap (the difference in the likelihood of protesting across social groups) increases, decreases or remains stable.

*Figure 1. Likelihood of engaging in political participation as a function of the economic situation among individuals with high and low resources*

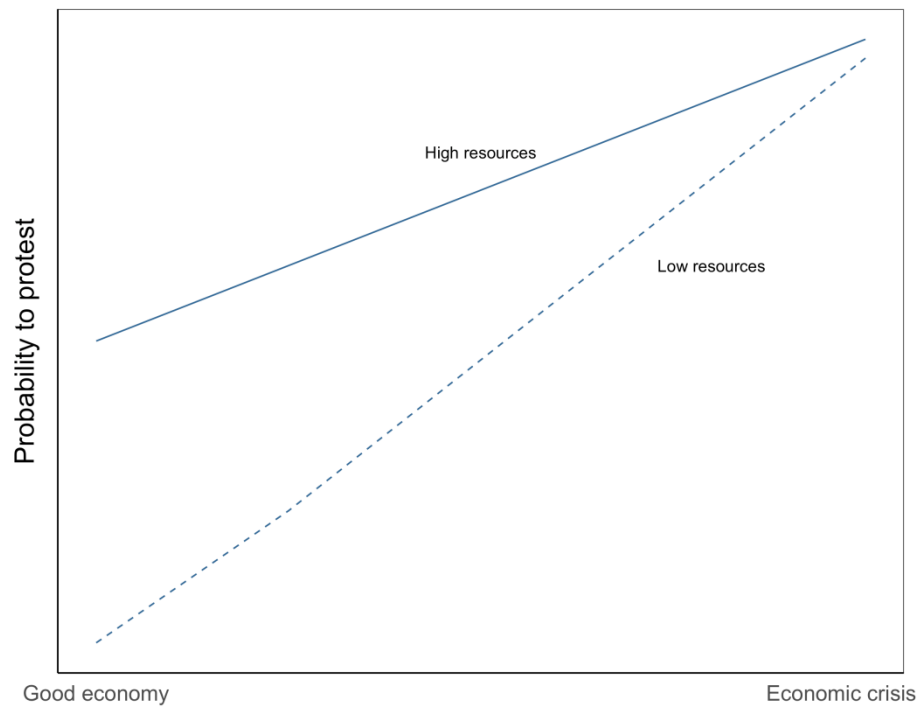


Figure 2. Likelihood of participating in a demonstration in 26 countries, 2006-2014

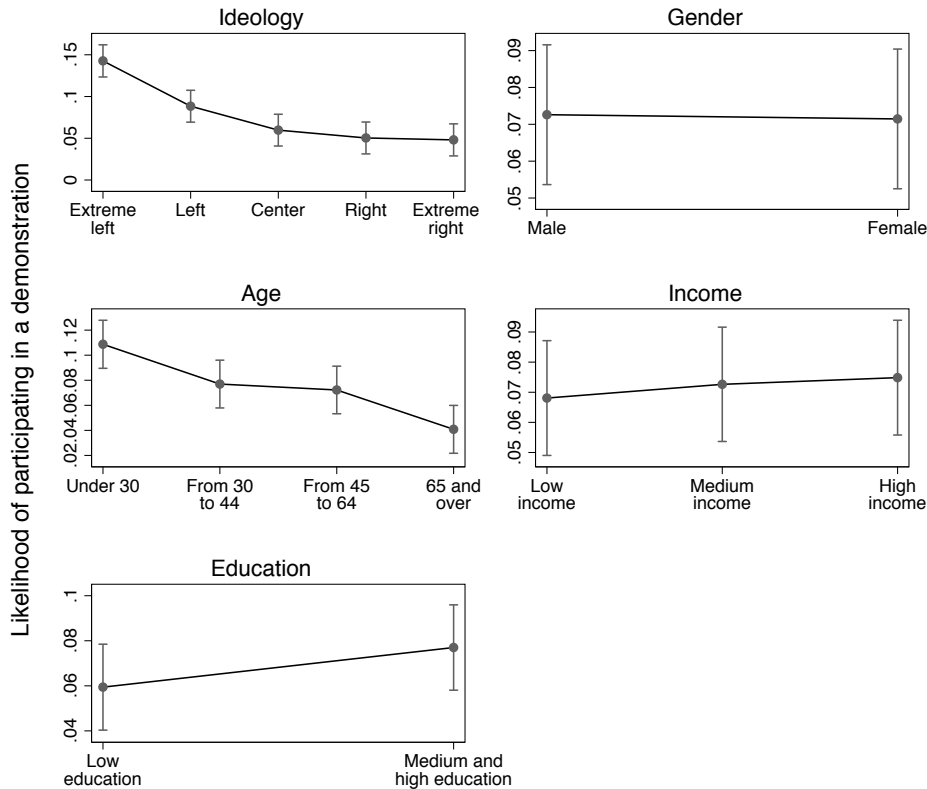
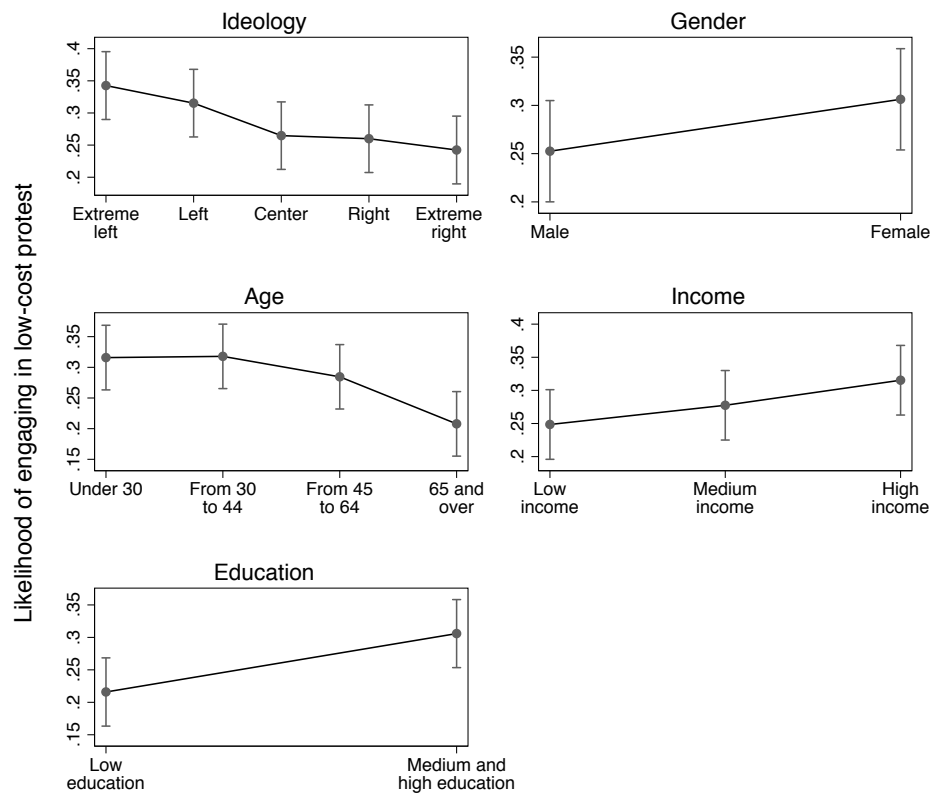
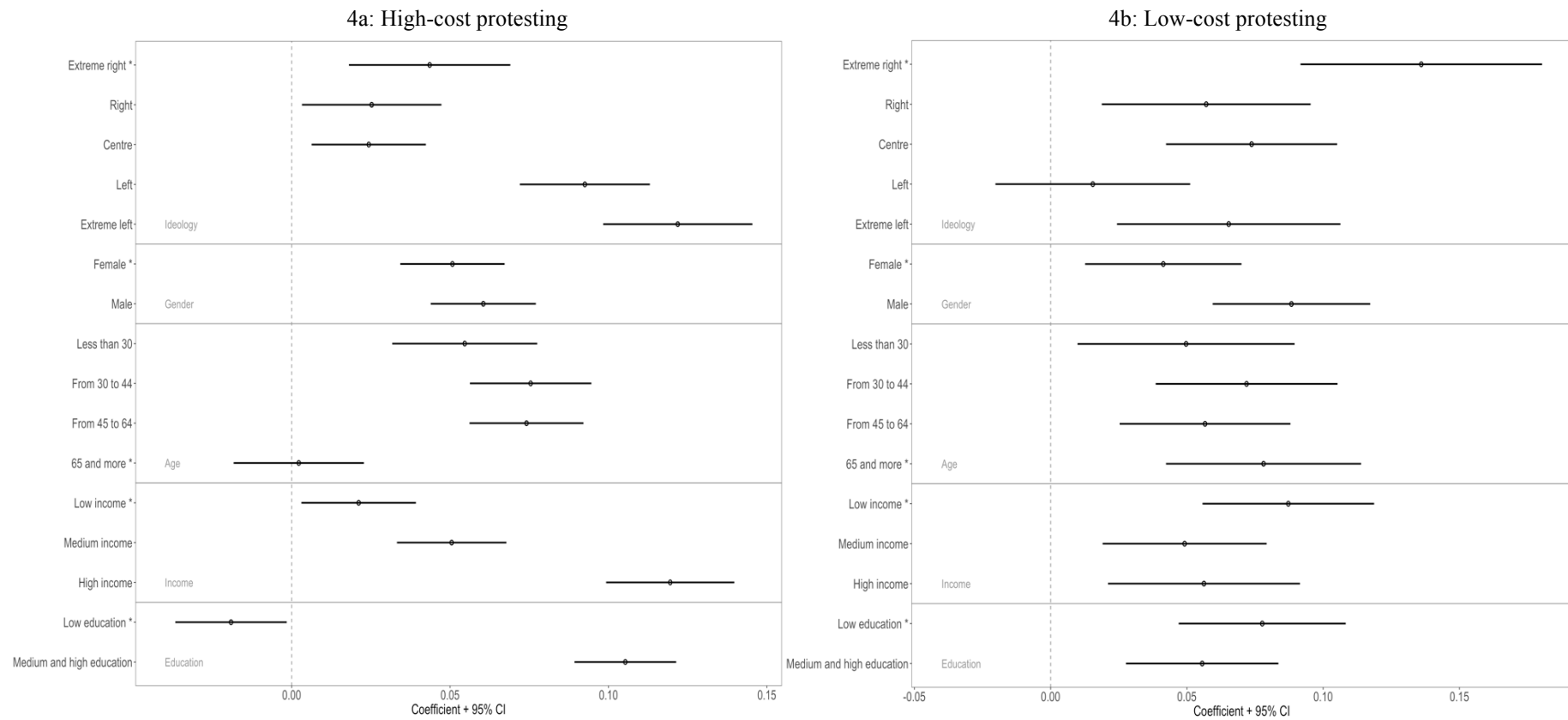


Figure 3. Likelihood of engaging in low-cost participation in 26 countries, 2006-2014



*Figure 4. Change in the likelihood of engaging in high and low-cost protesting when moving from a country with minimum to maximum level of unemployment*



## Appendix

*Table A1. Number of observations by country and year – Baseline model: participation in a demonstration*

	<b>2006</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>Total</b>
Austria	1,220	.	.	.	1,221	2,441
Belgium	1,509	1,487	1,405	1,646	1,544	7,591
Bulgaria	753	0	1,552	1,518	.	3,823
Croatia	.	811	925	.	.	1,736
Cyprus	718	.	591	677	.	1,986
Czech Republic	.	1,302	1,537	1,226	1,382	5,447
Denmark	1,267	1,344	1,302	1,350	1,268	6,531
Estonia	.	1,106	1,262	1,586	.	3,954
Finland	1,649	1,916	1,644	1,963	1,857	9,029
France	1,650	1,773	1,505	1,689	1,689	8,306
Germany	1,994	2,126	2,239	2,423	2,612	11,394
Greece	.	1,019	1,372	.	.	2,391
Hungary	.	923	1,062	1,160	1,023	4,168
Ireland	1,043	1,425	1,513	1,674	1,532	7,187
Italy	.	.	.	492	.	492
Latvia	.	1,332	.	.	.	1,332
Lithuania	.	.	872	1,185	1,268	3,325
Netherlands	1,577	1,512	1,406	1,516	1,611	7,622
Poland	1,151	1,111	1,142	1,263	984	5,651
Portugal	919	703	.	739	942	3,303
Romania	.	1,141	.	.	.	1,141
Slovakia	917	.	1,052	1,108	.	3,077
Slovenia	860	814	762	688	775	3,899
Spain	1,023	1,357	1,332	1,453	1,325	6,490
Sweden	1,683	1,655	1,333	1,589	1,562	7,822
United Kingdom	1,667	1,804	1,595	1,498	1,683	8,247
<b>Total</b>	<b>21,600</b>	<b>26,661</b>	<b>27,403</b>	<b>28,443</b>	<b>24,278</b>	<b>128,385</b>

Table A2. Multilevel linear probability models on the likelihood of having participated in a demonstration in the last 12 months in 25 countries, 2006-2014

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Ideology						
<i>Extreme-left</i>	0.095*** (0.003)	0.062*** (0.007)	0.095*** (0.003)	0.095*** (0.003)	0.095*** (0.003)	0.095*** (0.003)
<i>Left</i>	0.040*** (0.002)	0.021*** (0.006)	0.040*** (0.002)	0.041*** (0.002)	0.041*** (0.002)	0.041*** (0.002)
<i>Centre</i>	0.012*** (0.002)	0.020*** (0.006)	0.012*** (0.002)	0.012*** (0.002)	0.012*** (0.002)	0.012*** (0.002)
<i>Right</i>	0.002 (0.002)	0.009 (0.006)	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)
<i>Extreme-right</i>	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]
Male	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.003 (0.003)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)
Age						
<i>Under 30</i>	0.068*** (0.002)	0.068*** (0.002)	0.068*** (0.002)	0.047*** (0.006)	0.068*** (0.002)	0.067*** (0.002)
<i>From 30 to 44</i>	0.036*** (0.002)	0.036*** (0.002)	0.036*** (0.002)	0.007 (0.005)	0.036*** (0.002)	0.036*** (0.002)
<i>From 45 to 64</i>	0.031*** (0.002)	0.032*** (0.002)	0.031*** (0.002)	0.002 (0.005)	0.032*** (0.002)	0.031*** (0.002)
<i>65 and over</i>	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]
Income						
<i>Low income</i>	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]
<i>Medium income</i>	0.005** (0.002)	0.004* (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)	0.004* (0.002)	-0.009* (0.004)	0.003+ (0.002)
<i>High income</i>	0.007*** (0.002)	0.007** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)	-0.032*** (0.005)	0.006** (0.002)
High education	0.018*** (0.002)	0.018*** (0.002)	0.018*** (0.002)	0.017*** (0.002)	0.017*** (0.002)	-0.033*** (0.004)
Political Interest	0.034*** (0.001)	0.034*** (0.001)	0.034*** (0.001)	0.034*** (0.001)	0.034*** (0.001)	0.034*** (0.001)
Closeness Party	0.019*** (0.002)	0.019*** (0.002)	0.019*** (0.002)	0.019*** (0.002)	0.019*** (0.002)	0.020*** (0.002)
Unemployment	0.003*** (0.000)	0.002*** (0.001)	0.002*** (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.001* (0.000)	-0.001* (0.000)
Ideology*Unemploy.						
<i>Extreme Left</i>		0.004*** (0.001)				
<i>Left</i>		0.002*** (0.001)				
<i>Centre</i>		-0.001 (0.001)				
<i>Right</i>		-0.001 (0.001)				
Male*Unemployment			0.000 (0.000)			
Age*Unemployment						
<i>Under 30</i>				0.002***		

					(0.001)	
					0.003***	
					(0.001)	
					0.003***	
					(0.000)	
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Income*Unemploy.						
<i>Medium income</i>					0.001**	
					(0.000)	
<i>High income</i>					0.004***	
					(0.000)	
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High edu.*Unemploy.						0.006***
						(0.000)
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Constant	-0.123***	-0.119***	-0.122***	-0.101***	-0.107***	-0.092***
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
lnsl_1_1	-3.016***	-3.022***	-3.017***	-3.020***	-3.018***	-2.991***
	(0.141)	(0.141)	(0.141)	(0.141)	(0.141)	(0.141)
lnsig_e	-1.407***	-1.407***	-1.407***	-1.407***	-1.407***	-1.408***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
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Observations	128,385	128,385	128,385	128,385	128,385	128,385

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.1, \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001



Table A3. Multilevel linear probability models on the likelihood of having engaged in low-cost participation in the last 12 months in 25 countries, 2006-2014

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Ideology						
<i>Extreme-left</i>	0.100*** (0.005)	0.128*** (0.012)	0.100*** (0.005)	0.100*** (0.005)	0.100*** (0.005)	0.100*** (0.005)
<i>Left</i>	0.073*** (0.004)	0.121*** (0.011)	0.073*** (0.004)	0.073*** (0.004)	0.073*** (0.004)	0.073*** (0.004)
<i>Centre</i>	0.022*** (0.004)	0.047*** (0.010)	0.022*** (0.004)	0.022*** (0.004)	0.022*** (0.004)	0.022*** (0.004)
<i>Right</i>	0.018*** (0.004)	0.049*** (0.011)	0.018*** (0.004)	0.018*** (0.004)	0.018*** (0.004)	0.018*** (0.004)
<i>Extreme-right</i>	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]
Male	-0.054*** (0.002)	-0.054*** (0.002)	-0.073*** (0.006)	-0.054*** (0.002)	-0.054*** (0.002)	-0.054*** (0.002)
Age						
<i>Under 30</i>	0.108*** (0.004)	0.108*** (0.004)	0.108*** (0.004)	0.120*** (0.010)	0.108*** (0.004)	0.108*** (0.004)
<i>From 30 to 44</i>	0.110*** (0.004)	0.110*** (0.004)	0.110*** (0.004)	0.113*** (0.009)	0.110*** (0.004)	0.110*** (0.004)
<i>From 45 to 64</i>	0.077*** (0.003)	0.077*** (0.003)	0.077*** (0.003)	0.085*** (0.008)	0.077*** (0.003)	0.077*** (0.003)
<i>65 and over</i>	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]
Income						
<i>Low income</i>	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]	[REF.]
<i>Medium income</i>	0.029*** (0.003)	0.029*** (0.003)	0.029*** (0.003)	0.029*** (0.003)	0.045*** (0.007)	0.029*** (0.003)
<i>High income</i>	0.067*** (0.004)	0.067*** (0.004)	0.067*** (0.004)	0.067*** (0.004)	0.080*** (0.008)	0.067*** (0.004)
High education	0.090*** (0.003)	0.090*** (0.003)	0.090*** (0.003)	0.090*** (0.003)	0.090*** (0.003)	0.099*** (0.007)
Political Interest	0.085*** (0.002)	0.085*** (0.002)	0.085*** (0.002)	0.085*** (0.002)	0.085*** (0.002)	0.085*** (0.002)
Closeness Party	0.065*** (0.003)	0.064*** (0.003)	0.064*** (0.003)	0.064*** (0.003)	0.065*** (0.003)	0.064*** (0.003)
Unemployment	0.003*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.002** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)
Ideology*Unemploy.						
<i>Extreme Left</i>		-0.003** (0.001)				
<i>Left</i>		-0.005*** (0.001)				
<i>Centre</i>		-0.003** (0.001)				
<i>Right</i>		-0.004** (0.001)				
Male*Unemployment			0.002*** (0.001)			
Age*Unemployment						
<i>Under 30</i>				-0.001		

					(0.001)	
					-0.000	
					(0.001)	
					-0.001	
					(0.001)	
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Income*Unemploy.						
<i>Medium income</i>					-0.002*	
					(0.001)	
<i>High income</i>					-0.001+	
					(0.001)	
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High edu.*Unemploy.						-0.001
						(0.001)
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Constant	-0.187***	-0.215***	-0.178***	-0.193***	-0.198***	-0.193***
	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.028)
lnsl_1_1	-1.994***	-1.994***	-1.995***	-1.994***	-1.995***	-1.996***
	(0.139)	(0.139)	(0.139)	(0.139)	(0.139)	(0.139)
lnsig_e	-0.854***	-0.854***	-0.854***	-0.854***	-0.854***	-0.854***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Observations	128451	128451	128451	128451	128451	128451

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.1, \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001

Table A4. Summary of the empirical findings for high-cost protesting

	<i>Low unemployment rate</i>		<i>High unemployment rate</i>	
	<i>Protest gap</i>	<i>Group/s less likely to protest</i>	<i>Protest gap</i>	<i>Group/s less likely to protest</i>
<i>Ideology</i>	Yes	Extreme right, right and centrists	Yes	Extreme right, right and centrists
<i>Gender</i>	No	–	No	–
<i>Age</i>	Yes	65 or more	Yes	65 or more
<i>Income</i>	No	–	Yes	Low-income individuals
<i>Education</i>	Yes	People with low education	Yes	People with low education

Table A5. Summary of the empirical findings for high-cost protesting

	<i>Good economic situation</i>		<i>Bad economic situation</i>	
	<i>Protest gap</i>	<i>Group/s less likely to protest</i>	<i>Protest gap</i>	<i>Group/s less likely to protest</i>
<i>Ideology</i>	Yes	Extreme right, right and centrists	Yes	Left
<i>Gender</i>	Yes	Men	Yes	Men
<i>Age</i>	Yes	65 or more	No	–
<i>Income</i>	Yes	Low-income individuals	Yes	Medium and high-income individuals
<i>Education</i>	Yes	People with low education	No	–

Figure A1. Likelihood of participating in a demonstration by ideology and country level of unemployment

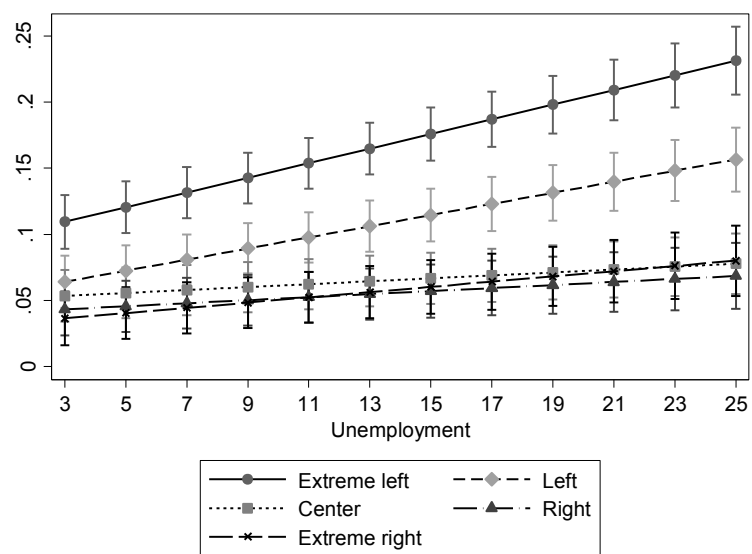


Figure A2. Likelihood of participating in a demonstration by gender and country level of unemployment

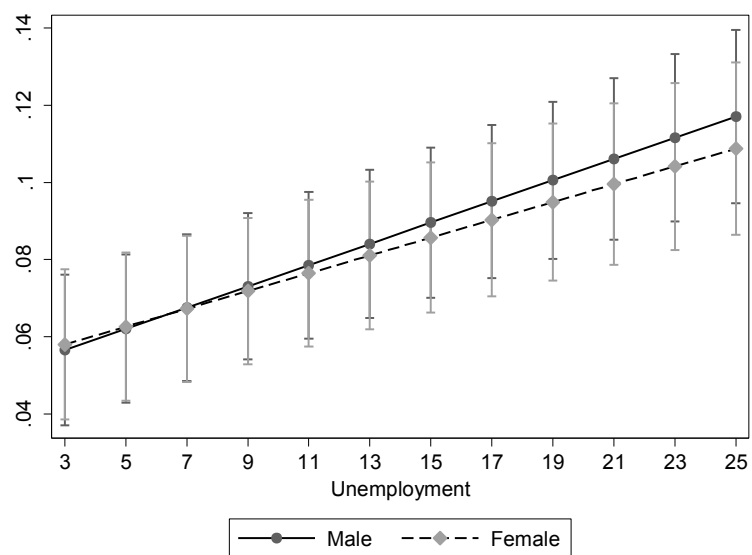


Figure A3. Likelihood of participating in a demonstration by age and country level of unemployment

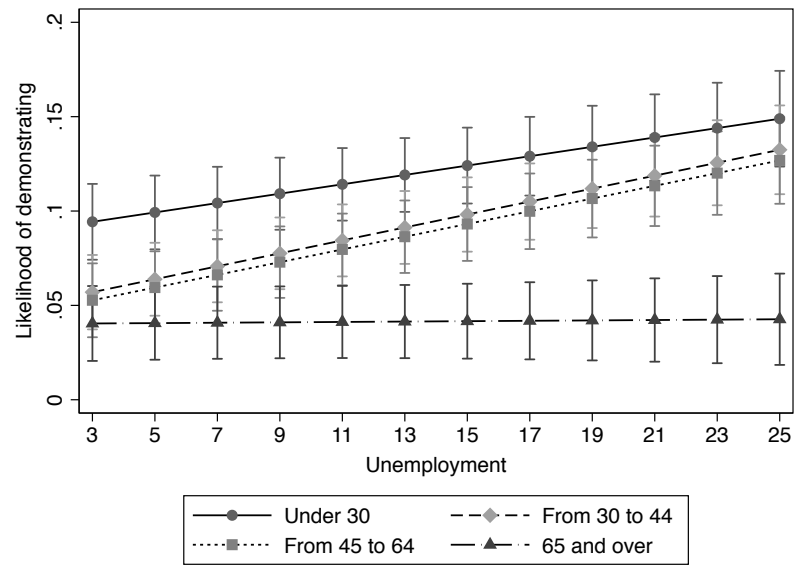


Figure A4. Likelihood of participating in a demonstration by income and country level of unemployment

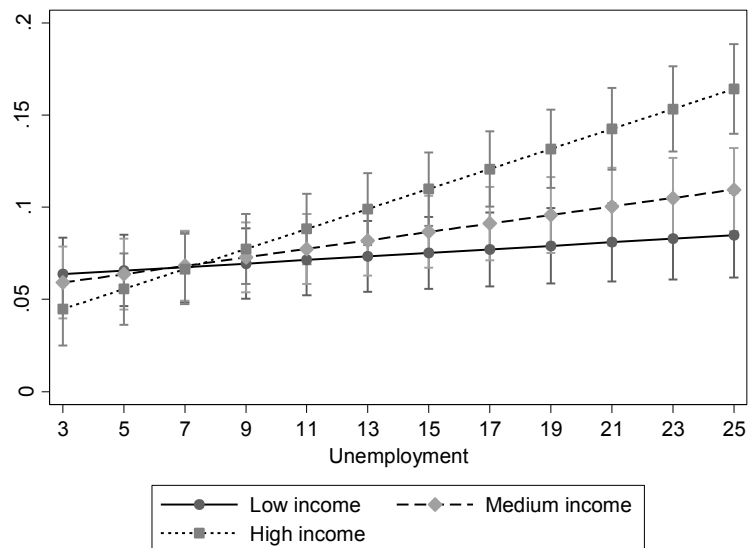


Figure A5. Likelihood of participating in a demonstration by education and country level of unemployment

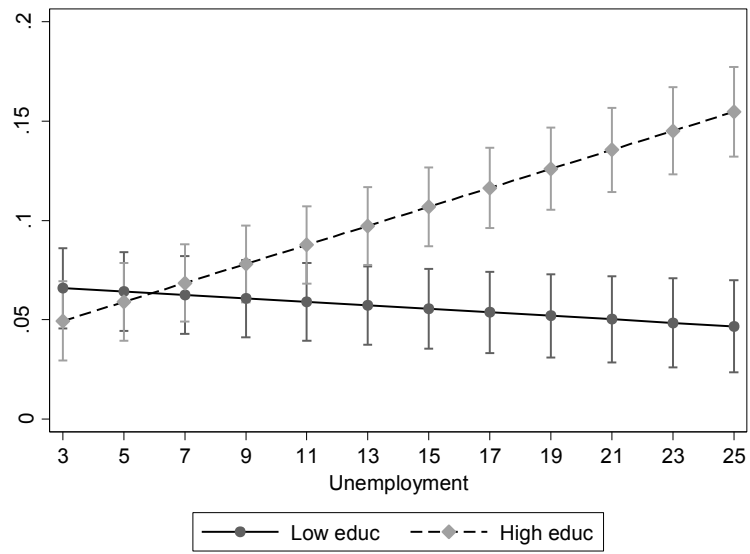


Figure A6. Likelihood of engaging in low-cost participation by ideology and country level of unemployment

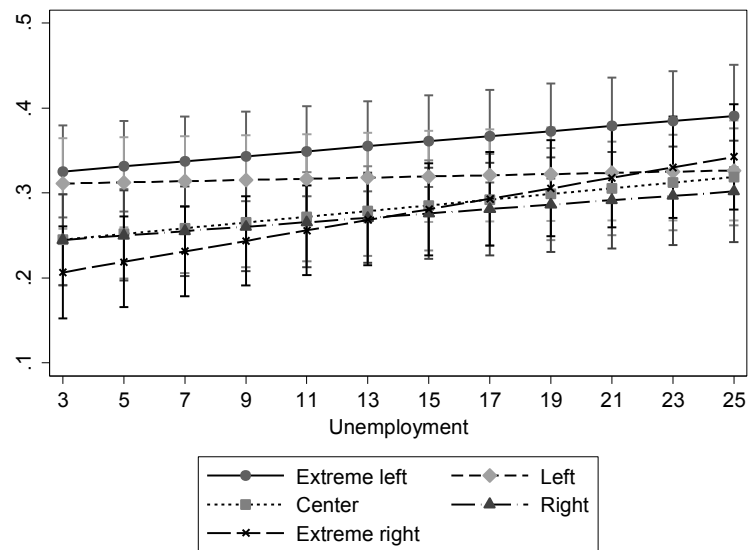


Figure A7. Likelihood of engaging in low-cost participation by gender and country level of unemployment

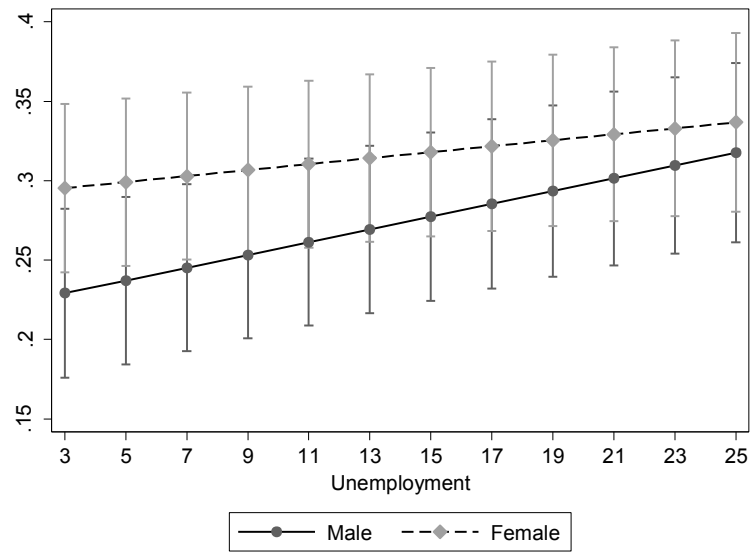


Figure A8. Likelihood of engaging in low-cost participation by age and country level of unemployment

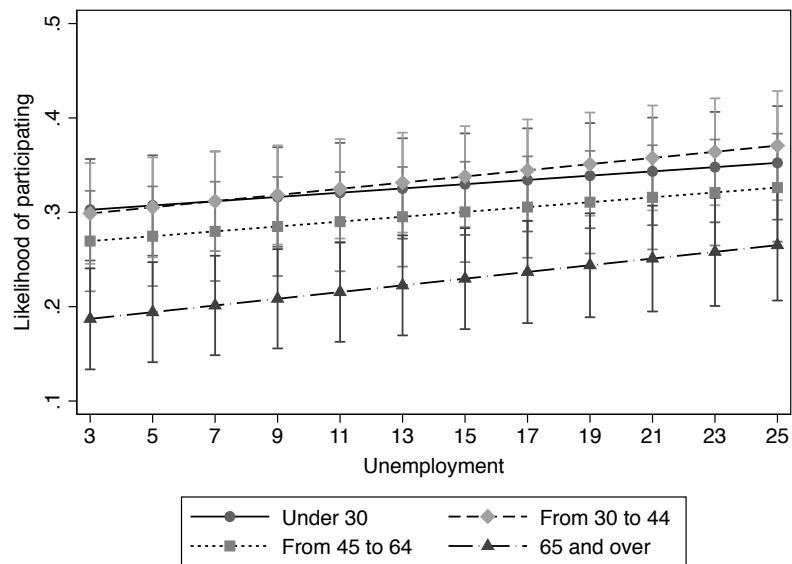




Figure A9. Likelihood of engaging in low-cost participation by income and country level of unemployment

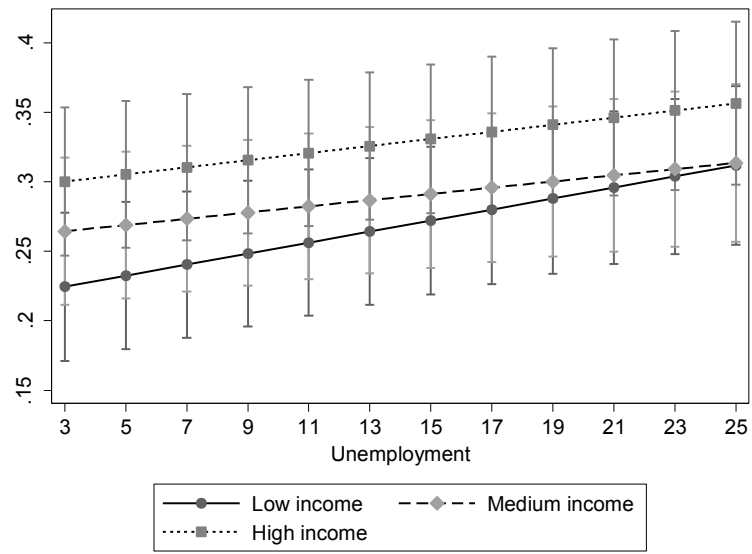


Figure A10. Likelihood of engaging in low-cost participation by education and country level of unemployment

